DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 326 063 FL 018 983

AUTHOR Schmidt, Richard; And Others
TITLE Suggestions To Buy: Television Commercials from the U.S., Japan, China, and Korea.
PUB DATE Apr 90
NOTE 32p.; Paper presented at the World Congress of Applied Linguistics sponsored by the International Association of Applied Linguistics (9th, Thessaloniki, Greece, April 15-21, 1990).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Chinese; *Chinese Culture; *Cultural Traits; English; Foreign Countries; Japanese; Korean; *Korean Culture; *Language Styles; *Persuasive Discourse; *Television Commercials; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS China; Japan; South Korea; United States

ABSTRACT

This study examined the differences in the use of language in television commercials from the United States, Japan, South Korea, and China to persuade viewers (consumers) to buy a product. Because cultural norms in these East Asian nations favor indirectness when suggesting or recommending, it was hypothesized that: 1) suggestions would be more frequent in commercials from the United States than in commercials from the Asian countries; and 2) imperatives would be the most frequent form of suggestion used in American television commercials, but not in the Asian commercials. A full evening's broadcast of television commercials from China, Japan, Korea, and the United States formed the research sample for this study, and the resulting data supported both hypotheses. American television commercials employed stronger suggestions and far more imperatives than Asian commercials. While this phenomenon (directness in American advertising versus indirectness of Asian advertisers) mirrors cultural norms, it may also be the result of selling in a market economy, or a refection of advertising conventions in each country. (JL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

AILA · 1990

SUGGESTIONS TO BUY: Television commercials from the U.S., Japan, China, and Korea

ED326063

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
R. Schmidt

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Richard Schmidt
Akihiko Shimura
Zhigang Wang
Hy-sook Jeong

The University of Hawaii at Manoa

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

This study deals with television commercials as suggestions to viewers (as consumers) to buy advertised products, and compares television commercials from the United States, Japan, the People's Republic of China, and South Korea from this perspective.[1] It is intended to complement and augment other studies of differences in speech act realization across cultures, but is different from most other studies in several respects:

(1) It is often assumed that the most problematic issue both in speech act theory and in cross-cultural communication is the determination of what is meant by what is said. It is commonly pointed out that our goal in conversation is to convey our intentions (Searle 1969, Grice 1975), and that failure to convey or interpret intentions may be the most important source of cross-cultural communication breakdown (Tannen 1986). However, the television commercial has an obvious intent, to persuade consumers to buy a particular product. Successful communication is not a function of getting television viewers to recognize this illocutionary force, but of the persuasive impact of the commercial, including the linguistic and nonlinguistic strategies used to persuade. [2]

(2) Speech act analyses have been based on several kinds of data: native speaker intuitions (Cole & Morgan 1975; Leech 1983; Searle 1969, 1976), spoken or written language elicited through discourse completion tests (Banerjee & Carrell 1987; Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989) or role plays (Rintell 1976; Scarcella 1983), and naturally occurring utterances in face-to-face interaction (Wolfson 1981, 1983; Ervin-Tripp 1976). Our concern is with data which is artful rather than natural, carefully scripted by professional writers, although it is naturally occurring language in another sense, not experimentally elicited for the purpose of linguistic analysis.

(3) Very useful work has been done in the cross-cultural comparison of speech act behavior by focusing on patterned variation in speech act realizations. The distribution of linguistic strategies for performing particular speech acts has been matched with speaker/hearer variables such as age, sex, social distance and relative power, together with the degree of imposition of the speech act involved, factors which according to the theory of politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987) have been claimed to be the primary determinants of linguistic choices in speech act behavior. In the case of the television commercial, we might expect similar variation in speech act realizations when

FL018983

characters on screen talk to one another, but the central notions of speaker and hearer are problematic when applied to the language of advertising. Goffman (1981) has criticized the commonsense notion of speaker, pointing out that a "speaker" may be the one who speaks the message, the one who has encoded it, or the one who is committed to the beliefs expressed. In ordinary conversation, these three normally coincide; in role play, there may be no committed speaker; and in commercials these roles are distributed among actors, copywriters and the product manufacturer. As for the "hearer," Lakoff suggests that in advertising language (and in persuasive discourse in general), there is no addressee, but only an audience (Lakoff 1982:31). In addition, while commercials may use a particular kind of language in order to influence specific target audiences and may exploit such roles as celebrity:fan, these devices are used strategically, creating situations and relationships rather than being sensitive to them.

(4) Many studies of cross-cultural variation in speech act behavior have reasonably direct relevance for second language learners whose goal is to interact effectively with native speakers of the target language under different social constraints. We do not claim such implications for our work, but do see this study as basic research for the teaching of language in business contexts, a field for which there is great demand and little research (Johns 1986).

TELEVISION COMMERCIALS AS SUGGESTIONS

Television commercials provide easily obtainable data which are relevant for a number of sociolinguistic concerns. Commercials have been analyzed as expressions of cultural codes and mythologies (Barthes 1972; Hall & Saracino-Resh 1979; Mueller 1987; Sherry & Camargo 1987); as a medium-specific example of the register of advertising language, with a focus on novel uses of language (Agoston & von Raffler-Engel 1979; Bhatia 1987; Leech 1966; Masavisut, Sukwiwat & Wongmontha 1987; Moeran 1985; O'Barr 1979; Romaine, forthcoming; Rothschild 1979); as manipulative and deceptive language (Bolinger 1973, 1980; Harris 1983; Vestergaard & Schroder 1985); and as the best exemplar of the broader category of persuasive discourse (Lakoff 1982; Schmidt & Kess 1985, 1987). Geis (1982) has perceptively analyzed a number of pragmatic aspects of American television commercials, including the ways in which product claims are interpreted by means of conversational maxims, but no study to date has dealt with television commercials from a speech act perspective.

As a speech act, the television commercial is some sort of directive (Searle 1976) or impositive (Leech 1983). The essential point of a television commercial (the reason the advertiser purchases time) is that it is an attempt to get some hearer or audience, viewers in their role as consumers, to perform some future action, that is, to buy a product. We propose that television commercials are best viewed as <u>suggestions</u> to buy, however, rather than as some other species of

directive, such as requests or orders. Commercials do not seem to be requests, because they do not attempt to engage the hearer's compliance on the grounds that the speaker wants or needs the act to be done, and they are not orders, because advertisers cannot expect consumers to buy a product as a consequence of the advertiser's or manufacturer's authority. Instead, a commercial can only suggest or recommend, to persuade the viewer "to consider the merits of taking the action in virtue of the speaker's belief that there is sufficient reason to act" (Fraser 1983:40). Geis has argued that syntactic imperatives, observed to be very common in advertising (Leech 1966), are to be viewed as suggestions rather than orders (Geis 1982: 19). However, in viewing commercials as suggestions, we are somewhat hampered by the lack of detailed studies of this speech act, particularly from a cross-cultural perspective. Cross-cultural studies of speech acts have focused on a small number of speech acts, including greetings and farewells (Sukwiwat & Fieg 1987) compliments (Holmes & Brown 1987; Manes 1983; Manes & Wolfson 1981; Wolfson 1981, 1983), thanks (Coulmas 1981, Eisenstein & Bodman 1986), apologies (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984; Borkin & Reinhart 1978; Cohen & Olshtain 1981; Coulmas 1981; Olshtain 1983; Olshtain & Cohen 1983), agreement and disagreement (Beebe & Takahashi 1989; Pearson 1983; Pomerantz 1984), and requests (Blum-Kulka 1982; Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984; Carrell & Konneker 1981; Matsumoto 1988; Rintell 1979; Takahashi 1986; Tanaka & Kawade 1982; Walters 1980). The speech act of suggestion, a cousin of the request, has been much less studied, and we have located only two data-based cross-cultural studies, Rintel's (1979) brief comparison of suggestions in Spanish and English, and Banerjee and Carrell's (1988) comparison of suggestions by native and nonnative speakers of English.

While we have spoken so far as if the commercial is a speech act with a unifying illocutionary point, it is probably preferable to view the commercial as a whole as a speech event, the internal structure of which consists of a sequence of utterances which may differentially support such functions as suggesting, informing, entertaining, and the like. Our analysis will be based on a distinction between "head acts" within the discourse, those utterances or parts of utterances within television commercials which directly realize the act of suggesting, and various "supporting moves" that provide grounds or reasons for something to be done or remove objections (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989; Blum-Kulka & Olshtain 1984; Edmondson & House 1981). We view the underlying structure of a commercial as the following:

Head Act	+	Supporting Moves (reasons)
consumer should buy, use (etc.) the product	BECAUSE	product is effective/stylish/etc. product will make consumer happy/healthy/young/etc.

Commenting on the application of the distinction between

head act and supporting move to data derived from discourse completion tests, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) and Edmondson and House (1981) observe that distinguishing between the two is difficult and subjective, because what may be a supporting move in one case may function as the head act elsewhere, for example when a hint does not preface a request but by itself conveys the force of requesting. We have attempted to minimize this problem by providing as strict a separation as possible between head acts and supporting moves or reasons. Operationally, we define the head act of suggestion in television commercials as:

> any utterance or part of an utterance which linguistically refers to the viewer or some other consumer buying the advertised product or interacting with the product in some way, such as using it or enjoying the benefits of owning it

We therefore allow the possibility of commercials which have more then one utterance which may be classified as a head act, as well as those with no head act, as we have defined it, while admitting that much of the remaining language in a commercial (including what we call reasons) may be suggestive in a broad sense. Even this relatively strict definition, however, does not result in the exclusive assignment of all linguistic material to only one category, either suggestion or reason. Consider the following example from our sample of English commercials:

E37 I'm gonna take what doctors would take, wouldn't you?

In this example, the only language which refers to a desired action to be taken by the viewer is the question tag, <u>wouldn't you?</u> However, by our definition, there are two other utterance parts we identify as head act realizations. The actor delivering the lines of the commercial, acting as a surrogate consumer, states that he is going to take the product (and will presumably have to buy it in order to do so). He also asserts that other consumers, doctors, would do the same. These different strategies for suggesting are fairly common in our data, and we therefore code for three instances of the head act in this case, although the claim that doctors would take the product is also clearly presented as a reason (supporting move) for the viewer to act.

In this study, we look at American television commercials and compare them with commercials from three Asian countries: Japan, the People's Republic of China, and South Korea. There are reasons to think that a comparison of American and Asian commercials may uncover some interesting differences. A great deal of advertising research supports the claim that American advertising (in all media) is persuasive rather than informative (Dowling 1980; Hong, Muderrisoglu & Zinhan 1987; Hunt 1976; Kaynak & Mitchell 1981; Laczniak 1979; Madden, Caballero & Matsukubo 1986; Resnik & Stern 1983; Stern, Krugman & Resnik 1981). But the view from Asia is rather different.

In China, advertising was banned during the Cultural

Revolution (1966-1976), and a modern advertising infrastructure has been developed only since 1978, as part of a rapid shift from Marxist socialism to market socialism (Tse, Belk & Zhou 1989). The official view is that the functions of advertising are to promote production, invigorate the economy, increase consumer convenience and guide consumption, develop international economic activities, and promote socialist moral standards (Central Administration for Industry and Commerce, cited in Rice & Lu 1988). Ho and Sin (1987) found that Chinese managers hold that the main purpose of advertising is to inform.

In both Japan and Korea, Miracle (1987) claims that advertisers rely on a "feel-do-learn" strategy, in which the primary goal is to entertain and establish feelings and moods which are transferred to the product, as opposed to the predominant Western "learn-do-feel" sequence, in which advertising presents reasons for buying, with positive feelings the result rather than the precursor of purchase. Japanese advertising practices have been the most thoroughly studied, and from a number of impressionistic studies (Fields 1983; Miracle 1985, 1987, Yamaki n.d.) a consistent picture has emerged. Japanese television commercials are said to be evocatively filmed, but extremely indirect in approach. In a study of print advertising, Sherry and Camargo report that most Japanese ads "neither preach, promise nor praise; some don't even portray product attributes" (Sherry & Camargo 1987: 181).

Based on the literature on advertising in the U.S., China, Japan and Korea, our initial hypothesis is the following:

H1. Suggestions will be more frequent in commercials from the U.S. than in those from any of the three Asian countries.

We are equally interested in knowing what linguistic strategies are used to convey suggestions in commercials. As noted above, previous studies have commented on the high frequency of imperatives in English advertising, linking the syntactic imperative to the function of suggesting, but why this should be so is not entirely clear. Both Rintell (1979) and Banerjee and Carrell (1988) observe that suggestions (for the benefit of the hearer) are more likely to be expressed directly than are requests (for the benefit of the speaker). If two salient features of suggestions are that the speaker really does not care much if the hearer carries out the action and that the maker of a suggestion assumes no special authority over the addressee (Green 1975), then perhaps there is little potential loss of face involved in the use of a syntactic form, the imperative, which is normally viewed as not allowing options. However, Banerjee and Carrell found that imperatives were not common among suggestions elicited by discourse-completion questionnaires, accounting for fewer than 10% of the responses offered by either native or nonnative speakers (Bannerjee & Carrell 1988: 331) and used only in situations requiring immediate attention. Leech (1966) suggests that the high frequency of imperatives in English advertising might be a

function of several factors: the fact that commercials are necessarily obvious in declaring their intention, plus the need for attention value, memorability, and selling power.

Whatever principle may explain the occurrence of imperatives in American and British advertising, we do not expect imperatives to be found as often in Asian television commercials. Even though language may function pragmatically in rather different ways in persuasive discourse than in ordinary conversation (Lakoff 1982), there is every reason to expect cross-cultural differences in persuasive language (Glenn, Witmeyer & Stevenson 1977), with considerable influence from norms identified for face-to-face interaction. For Japanese, it has been said that the bald, unadorned imperative is hardly ever used, and that "the form is considered even too forceful for recipes and other regular instruction" (Matsumoto 1988: 420). Takahashi (1986) developed a taxonomy for comparing levels of directness in Japanese and English directives (using role plays to elicit data), finding that Japanese employed a more indirect approach in general and were especially likely to employ hinting strategies. While there is clearly a danger in exaggerating the stereotype of direct American usage as opposed to indirect Japanese speech act performance (Beebe and Takahashi 1989), observations that Japanese advertising is more evocative than persuasive also suggest that imperatives will be infrequent in Japanese television commercials and that less direct strategies for making suggestions will be used.

For Korean and Chinese, we have less information upon which to base our hypothesis, since there have been no comparative studies of suggestions or other directives that we are aware of. Both Koreans and Chinese are often observed to be more forthright and direct than the Japanese. However, Koreans and Chinese, like Japanese, are said to emphasize harmonious social relationships and to disprefer any appearance of presumptuousness or overeagerness, preferences sometimes linked to discourse strategies such as a steady buildup of information before making a request or arriving at the important message (Kaplan 1966; Young 1982). We therefore hypothesize the following:

H2 Imperatives will be the most frequent form used to realize suggestions in American television commercials, but not in any of the three Asian languages.

METHOD

The data for this study consists of one full evening of television broadcasting in Honolulu (NBC), Tokyo (Fuji), Seoul (Korean Broadcasting) and Beijing (CCTV) during the first week of March, 1988. Commercials were recorded from the most-watched station in each location at peak audience times.

These video tapes yielded slightly more than one hour of comercials in each language, from which a sample of 50

commercials was drawn for each country. Our original intent was to balance the samples for products advertised, but this proved impossible because the most commonly advertised products are not the same in each country. The Chinese data contained numerous advertisements for washing machines and television sets, not found in any of the other language databases. The English and Japanese tapes both contained a high proportion of automobile ads (March is the traditional season for car sales in both countries), while the Korean database contained relatively few commercials for durables of any type (Keown, Jacobs, Schmidt & Ghymn 1990). Because we were interested only in consumer product advertising, our sample consists of the first 50 commercials from each database, after elimination of repeats, public service announcements, corporate image ads, film trailers, and promotional spots. We also eliminated commercials for heavy industrial equipment found in our P.R.C. database, on the grounds that few viewers could be considered potential consumers of such products.

We believe that our samples are reasonably representative of prime-time consumer advertising on major channels in the four countries, but do not claim that our sample is representative of all television advertising in any of them. For example, we would expect some significant differences in the language of American television commercials broadcast at different times of the day, such as Saturday morning commercials aimed at children. We would also expect some important differences in commercials that are not nationally distributed (e.g., local used car commercials) and for products sold through mail-order and advertised primarily on cable television stations.

All commercials were transcribed, including spoken, printed and sung language, and three translations were produced: a morpheme-by-morpheme translation, a literal translation into English, and an idiomatic or free translation. Except in cases where linguistic form is at issue, examples are presented only in romanized transcription and free translation.

Each of the four researchers was responsible for the analysis of commercials in his or her native language and the initial assignment of utterances to categories, after which the examples were discussed by all four researchers until consensus was reached on each categorization.[3]

Chi-square analysis was used to test hypotheses, and the decision level was set at $p < .05$. Reported frequencies represent the number of instances of a category in the whole set of 50 commercials for each language (which may include more than one instance from a single commercial), not the number or percentage of commercials in which utterances of a particular type occurred. In addition to results addressing our specific hypotheses, we will also present a number of post-hoc and qualitative analyses, together with examples illustrating the tone of commercials from each country.

RESULTS

As indicated in Table 1 below, the hypothesis that suggestions would be more common in American commercials than in commercials from any of the three Asian countries was supported. Considering all types of suggestions coded from our data -- including suggestions made directly to the viewer, suggestions made to onscreen characters, testimonials and reported behavior (to be described in the following section)-- the set of English commercials contained a significantly higher number of suggestions than the Japanese, Chinese or Korean samples. Korean commercials contained more suggestions than either Chinese or Japanese commercials.

Taking a narrower view of suggestions and counting only those made directly to the viewer (the most common type in each of the four languages), the English commercials again contained significantly more suggestions than the commercials from Japan, China or Korea. Using this measure, there were no significant differences among the commercials from Japan, China and Korea.

(insert Table 1 here)

The distribution of linguistic forms in suggestions is shown below in Table 2, comparing imperatives (including those with "please" or a tag) to all other forms, but only including those suggestions addressed directly to the viewer. We expect that suggestions addressed by onscreen characters to one another might exhibit some interesting differences, possibly varying as a function of speaker and hearer sex, age, status and role relationship, but suggestions to onscreen characters occurred too infrequently in our data to permit meaningful independent analysis. Some types of suggestions (e.g. reports) do not permit the imperative at all.

(insert Table 2 here)

As shown in Table 2, the hypothesis that imperatives would be the preferred form for suggestions in American television commercials and would be used more frequently than in commercials from any of the three Asian countries was also supported. Imperatives were significantly more frequent in English than in Japanese, Chinese or Korean. Japanese commercials contained significantly fewer imperatives than either Chinese or Korean, which were not significantly different from each other.

DISCUSSION

These two simple measures indicate that American television commercials are more overtly suggestive than commercials from any of the three Asian countries. One measure, the overall frequency of suggestions of all types (Table 1) indicates that Korean ads are somewhat more suggestive than commercials from Japan or China, whereas the frequency of imperatives (Table 2), indicates that Japanese commercials are the least suggestive in that

respect. A possible explanation of these findings is that the persuasive function of television advertising is emphasized in American ads, whereas other functions (not measured here) may be emphasized in Asian commercials. Another interpretation is that the function of suggestion is simply accomplished less directly in Asian commercials.

However, a caveat must be raised regarding the identification of syntactic imperatives as a basic measure of directness in suggestions. Although the syntactic imperative is the most direct possible way to issue suggestions in each of the four languages, we cannot assume functional equivalence across languages; in fact, we know that the Japanese imperative is virtually a tabu form.

Moreover, indirection in suggestions is not one-dimensional. While attempts have been made to rank directive utterances along a single scale of directness or politeness (Carrell & Konneker 1981; Takahashi 1986; Walters 1980), we find that in television commercials there are at least four different ways in which suggestions can be conveyed indirectly. We have already recognized that what we are calling "reasons" (e.g. product atributes) can function indirectly as suggestions in a broad sense, just as hints function as indirect requests in face-to-face interaction. In addition, we find examples in our data of what we will call indirection by participant shift, indirection by action shift, and linguistic indirection.

Indirection by participant shift

We can distinguish between suggestions in commercials which are addressed directly to the viewer as potential consumer and which refer to the desirability of the viewer buying the product or doing something with it (direct) and suggestions which are directed at some other addressee or simply report what other consumers have done (indirect). As indicated earlier, suggestions addressed to the viewer were the most common type of suggestion in our samples. In each language, we find suggestions addressed to the viewer such as the following:

E49 Consider the Acura Legend Coupe. (male announcer)

E36 So don't get confused. Shop where you like, but start at your Buick dealer. (onscreen female)

J40 Ima, Pipp Erekiban o kau to, 18-kin to daia de dekita sutekina puchi pendanto ga chuusen de atarimasu.

If you buy Pipp's Erekiban now, you may win a petit pendant made of 18K gold and diamonds (male announcer)

J8 Gankai no shiji ni shitagai tadashiku goshiyoo kudasai.

Please follow your eye doctor's directions and use them properly. (printed message)

C23 Xinqiu yingxiang, nin de lixiang.

Xinqiu stereo system, your ideal (choice). (male announcer)

C31 Qing nin fuyong tongrentang shengchan de kanglaoyannianwan.

Please use the Kanglao Yannian produced by Tongrentang Medicine Factory. (female announcer)

K16 Hyokwalul senthaykhaseyyo.

Choose the effect. (onscreen female)

K42 Philyohal ttayman cokumssik ccaseyyo.

When needed, press a little. (onscreen male)

It is interesting to note who makes the suggestion to the viewer. In English, such suggestions may be made to the viewer by an onscreen character, through printed messages or through song lyrics, but the most frequently used strategy is the device of using the voice of an offscreen announcer (34 of 54 suggestions to viewer). Overwhelmingly, in 33 of 34 cases, the voice of the offscreen announcer is an adult male.

Although the observed frequencies are too small to permit tests of statistical significance in most cases, some interesting patterns can be seen in each of the other languages. Only the commercials from China are like American commercials in strongly preferring the offscreen announcer as the primary source of suggestions (18 of 26 suggestions), and in the Chinese case two thirds of those suggestions (12 cases) were made by female voices. In the Japanese commercials, the most common way to present suggestions was through printed rather than spoken messages (13 of 27 suggestions to the viewer), and onscreen characters made suggestions to the viewer as often as did an offscreen announcer (7 each). When the offscreen announcer is used to present suggestions, Japanese ads appear to be nearly as gender-biased as the American ones. All offscreen voices except two were male. One was a child's voice, and one commercial used a female offscreen voice to represent the thoughts of an onscreen character. The Korean ads did not use printed messages for any suggestions, used an offscreen voice for just over half of all suggestions (16 of 30) and like the Chinese ads did not show gender bias; 9 offscreen voices were female and 7 were male. The remaining suggestions to the viewer in the Korean ads were either spoken by onscreen characters or presented in song lyrics.

A less direct way to make the suggestion is to make it to an onscreen character, an actor appearing as a surrogate consumer. Such suggestions might also be made by an offscreen voice, and we know that in American commercials this strategy is sometimes used, but we have no examples of this in any of our language samples. We do have examples of onscreen characters making

suggestions to each other in each language sample, such as the following:

E42 Here - try THIS one. (male to female)

J2 Ojii-chan, Tansu ni Gon katte kite kudasai na?

Grandpa, please go and buy Tansu ni Gon, won't you? (daughter-in-law to father-in-law)

C33 Ni chi dian jianpixiaoshi wan jiu hao le, haoma?

You will feel better after taking Jianpi Xiaoshi Wan, OK? (mother to son)

K11 Enni twuthongyakul tusil ilici.

Sister, Why don't you take a headache medicine? (female to female)

It would be interesting to compare commercials from these different countries to see which role relationships are used most often in such cases and who gives advice to whom, but it would take a larger sample to identify such patterns.

Alternatively, still in their role as surrogate consumers, onscreen actors can convey a suggestion to the viewer (or to another onscreen character) by reporting that they have used a product and benefitted from it. We find examples of such testimonials from each country, such as these:

E36 Thank goodness for Pine Sol. (female)

J37 Boku wa itsumo hakuchuu doodoo Suwan nan desusu yo.

I always (drink) Swan boldly in broad daylight. (male, celebrity)

C1 Wo young guo, xiaoguo hai bu chuone.

I have tried it and found its effects not bad. (female)

K32 Yocum daewoo patko salayo.

We live now receiving good treatment. (male)

Finally, instead of having an onscreen character report his or her purchase or satisfaction with the product, advertisers may suggest indirectly by reporting what other consumers have done. Again, we find some examples of this suggesting strategy in commercials from each of the four countries:

E17 Since the Johnson's got their Mitsubishi Mirage, they've been driving a lot more. (male announcer)

J41 Katakori no tonari no Gen-san Pipp katte, nonde, kiita.

Gen-san, our next-door neighbor with a stiff shoulder, bought and took Pipp and it worked (onscreen male to female)

C7 Luotuo jin wanjia, wan ja huanle duo.

Camel comes to thousands of families and brings them more happiness (female announcer)

K23 I taykeyto ce taykeyto Soykoki Masna

At this home and that home too, Soykoki Masna (song)

Between-language differences in the distribution of suggestions to the viewer, suggestions to an onscreen character, testimonials, and reports were not significant. However, there is one additional strategy for conveying suggestions indirectly which we have found only in the U.S. commercials, a variant of the testimonial. This is modeled behavior, in which the onscreen "consumer" does not report past actions, but indicates that he or she is going to buy or use the product. Five U.S. commercials used this device, such as the following:

E6 Oh! I'll take it home now. (female)

E25 Wear-Dated, please. (female)

Indirection by action shift

Any suggestion involves some threat to the addressee's face, because people do not in general want to be told what to do, but the suggestion to buy involves a literal cost as well. In advertising, various strategies are used to present messages which emphasize benefits and minimize costs to the buyer. Price may or may not be mentioned. If it is, the price may be presented as a reason for buying, perhaps said to be lower than the competition or lower than before or lower than it will be after a limited offer expires. Other strategies involve the formulation of price, such as stating a price as $39.99 instead of $40.00 or stating a base price in large print while mentioning restrictions and exclusions in small print (both of these strategies are found only in the American commercials in our data).

The suggestion that the consumer is to buy something, i.e. part with money, can also be conveyed less directly by referring to consumer actions other than buying itself. This is done in commercials from all four countries. We identified the following categories of suggested action:

Suggestion to buy: an utterance which lexically refers to buying, selling or ordering the product, or a related financial transaction.

E25 If you're one of the thousands of people who asked for a free sample of Wear-Dated carpet with Stainblocker and tried it, you'd probably like to know what steps to take to buy it. (male announcer)

J5 Nyuu konseputo gokonyuu no kata ni Goto Kumiko orijinaru terehon kaado purezento chuu.

Giving away original Kumiko Goto telephone cards to those who purchase New Concept. (printed message)

C38 Dianhua dinghuo, shonghuo shangmen.

Order by phone, deliver to your home. (printed message)

K20 Ne Jin Ramyon hana te saollay?

Would you go buy one more Jin Ramyon?
(onscreen father to daughter)

Suggestion to get:. an utterance which lexically refers to some action which implies the possibility or likelihood of purchase, for example, going to a store or calling for information.

E25 Call for the dealer near you. (male announcer)

C9 Qing jizhu wo de shangbiao, weili pai xiyiji.

Please remember my brand, Weili washing machine. (cartoon figure)

K44 Noksaykpyengul chacuseyyo.

Look for the green bottle. (female announcer)

Suggestion to use: an utterance refering to a consumer using the product in some way.

E25 Throw in your dirtiest clothes, then toss in a Fab 1-Shot Pack. (male announcer)

J39 Poora no Dei-ando-dei, Massaaji Kuriimu wa mizu de arainagaseru kara kantan ni tsukaemasu

As Pola's Day + Day Massage Cream can be washed off with water, you can use it easily. (offscreen female voice)

C1 Ni keyi fangxin de yong

You can use it without worry. (onscreen female to female)

K12 Wuli emmanun Heinz

Our mother (uses) Heinz. (song)

Suggestion to enjoy benefits: an utterance which refers to the consumer experiencing the benefits of owning or using the product.

E43 Instead of spending your evening creating a classic, you can spend it enjoying one. (male announcer)

J13 Saa, hajimemasen ka, ii iki no shuukan?

Well, shall we start (lit: don't you/we start) the habit of new breath? (onscreen male, celebrity)

C35 Ji jiang jianmei you xiang koufu.

(You can) keep fit and enjoy gourmet's luck at the same time. (male announcer)

K24 Santtushan masulo kiekhaseyyo.

Remember as a fresh taste. (female announcer)

Suggestion with unspecified action: an utterance which implies that a viewer will interact in some way with the product, but leaves the desired action unspecified or makes a metaphorical suggestion.

E41 Listen to the heartbeat of America. (song)

J17 Kotoshi wa fain na nama biiru.

For this year, fine draft beer. (onscreen male celebrity and printed message)

K37 Memohaseyyo.

Do the Memo. (offscreen, female)
[note: the product brandname is Memobis]

Table 3 displays the distribution of suggestions to buy versus all others. Explicit references to buying (ordering, purchasing, etc.) or to selling (the reciprocal of buying) are not favored in any of the four languages studied here. In each language sample, reference to other actions (getting, using, benefitting from) are preferred.

(insert Table 3 here)

Korean television commercials appear to represent the extreme in avoiding mention of buying and selling, while Japanese commercials are apparently the least reluctant to mention financial transactions. However, it should be noted that between-language differences in the frequency of suggestions to buy are not statistically significant, and that all but one of the Chinese ads in this category simply referred to where products

are sold, which might be taken as a simple statement of availability rather than a suggestion to buy.

Linguistic indirection and politeness phenomena

As indicated above in Table 2, syntactic imperatives were the most common forms for suggestions in the American television commercials, but were uncommon in Japanese, Chinese and Korean commercials. Table 4 presents an expanded tabulation of linguistic forms found in our data, again limited to suggestions to the viewer. The observed frequencies are too small to permit statistical analysis, but are reported here simply to illustrate the range of forms found.

(insert Table 4 here)

We were also interested in seeing whether television commercials contain other suggestion forms such as those identified for English by Edmondson & House (1981):

Why not....?
I suggest that you....
You should/ought to/must....
Maybe you could....
The thing to do is....

No examples of expressions such as you should, you ought to or I suggest that were found in any of the four language samples, though in the American commercials, a number of other forms similar to those above were found:

E21 Why not the best?
E16 Why cook in oil, margerine or butter?
E43 ... you can spend it enjoying one.
E25 You'd probably like to know what steps to take to buy it.
E13 Isn't it nice to know there's a place to go...?
E9 It's a good time for the great taste at MacDonalds.
E5 It's gotta be a Dodge.

Other forms found in our data which have not been previously identified in the literature as suggestion forms included the following:

E17 Suddenly, the obvious choice. (nominalization)
E30 This one's gonna turn your head around. (consumer as object)

We suspect that a larger sample of commercials would yield more suggestion forms. For example, American commercials occasionally contain need-statements, both those referring to hearer-need ("If you're a frequent flyer, maybe you need a new credit card") and speaker-need ("At X Auto Sales, we must get rid of 200 cars and trucks this weekend"), neither of which were found in our sample. As indicated in Table 4, a range of suggestion forms was also found for each of the other languages in this study, and presumably a larger sample would also increase these

inventories.

There are some major problems in attempting to compare the incidence of such forms across languages. We think it unlikely that an etic grid could be devised that would include all forms and that would provide a universally valid ranking of forms according to level of directness or politeness. At the same time, our minimal assumptions are that:

1) Imperatives are more direct and less polite than all other forms.

2) Imperatives with tag questions or overt politeness markers such as "please" or polite address forms are more polite (though no less explicit) than bare imperatives.

3) Suggestions in which the addressee is subject and the verb represents the action recommended are more direct than those in which the recommended action is omitted or nominalized or those cast as passives or which represent the addressee as object.

These assumptions are insufficient to rank the four languages in terms of directness and/or politeness in any precise way, but some interesting patterns do emerge from our data for each language.

American television commercials are, as we have already noted, the most direct according to principle (1), and are also (as seen in Table 4) the least polite by principle (2). English advertising is alone in its extreme preference for bare imperatives, with no mitigating devices. However, our English commercials also contain less explicit forms such as those mentioned in principle (3). Moreover, as discussed above, U.S. commercials make suggestions less explicit through participant shift and action shift, so it is not the case the American commercials are unrelievedly aggressive.

There is also an apparent interaction in the U.S. commercials between these different ways of being indirect. Although English prefers the bare imperative for suggestions in commercials and although nearly 10% of all suggestions are suggestions to buy, we do not have a single case in which either the viewer or an onscreen character is bluntly told or asked to buy Product X. Explicit mention of the financial transaction appears to require either participant shift (actors as surrogate consumers may say they have bought or will buy a product and other consumers may be reported to have bought it) or linguistic indirection (viewers may be told that a product is a better buy or told what steps to take to buy it). [4]

This tradeoff between different dimensions of indirection in the U.S. commercials is not found in our samples from Asia. The Chinese and Korean commercials contained almost no instances of the suggestion to buy. Although the Japanese commercials contained hardly any imperatives, one of these that did occur was

an imperative to buy:

J9 Minna katte ne?

Everybody, buy (it), won't you? (offscreen announcer, child)

However, this utterance was in a commercial directed at children and used a child's voice. The utterance conveys an intimate, cute tone in Japanese.

In the Chinese television commercials, the most striking aspect of the forms of suggestions is the use of "please" and polite pronouns. In Chinese, the tone of an imperative may be softened by adding particles ba, le, or la at the end of a sentence (none of which are found in our data), using verbs with less directness of action (as discussed under indirection by action shift), or by adding please to the imperative.

Chinese has four instances of imperative plus please, of which the following is typical:

C33 Nin yao xiangyao nin de xiao baobao huobokeai ma? Na qing nin gei tamen fuyong tongrentangzhiyaochang shengchan de jianpixiaoshiwan.

You want your children to be as healthy and lovely? Please give them Jianpi Xiaoshi Wan produced by Tongrentang Medicine Factory. (female announcer)

Pronouns of address also indicate politeness. For you, there is a choice between ni (regular, T form) or nin (polite, honorific V-form). In this data, nin (V) is always used when the suggestion is addressed to the viewer (as in C33 above), although in several commercials onscreen characters use the T form to each other.

The use of lexical please and polite pronouns give suggestions in Chinese commercials a polite and formal tone. In addition, suggestions in commercials from China sometimes appear in English translation more like requests, an impression also triggered by the use of ability statements with can and will (especially in suggestions to onscreen characters and therefore not represented in Table 4).

Korean commercials do not favor imperatives with please (only one example), but Japanese commercials do. Of the three imperatives in our Japanese sample, one uses a question tag (everybody buy, won't you?, cited above) and the other two are printed messages with please (kudasai), again sounding more like requests (by English norms) than suggestions. Suggestions in Japanese commercials also contain negative questions (two to the viewer and two to onscreen characters), which have been identified as preferred Japanese request forms (Takahashi 1986).

For Korean, the incidence of propositives (see Figure 4) is

interesting. Suggestions with let's in utterances which include both speaker and hearer in the desired action, coupled with the relative absence of formal politeness devices, gives some indication that Korean commercials emphasize positive or solidarity politeness rather than negative or deference politeness strategies (Brown & Levinson 1987; Scollon & Scollon 1983).

For both Korean and Japanese, the most interesting finding is the very high incidence of elliptical imperatives, which is related to the strategy of indirection through action shift as discussed previously. Several examples of elliptical imperatives also occur in English, as in the following:

E16 Pam Cooking Spray, because how you cook is as important as what you cook. (male announcer)

E24 Pine Sol, because you care about clean. (male announcer)

In these cases, the advertiser might paraphrase the utterance as Pine Sol exists (or we created Pine Sol) because you care about clean. However, this utterance can also be interpreted as You should buy Pine Sol, because you care about clean.

Elliptical imperatives have been noted for English requests, e.g. "salt," meaning "pass the salt" when said at a dinner table, and are generally considered to be at the explicit, direct end of the continuum of directive types (Ervin-Tripp 1976, Walters 1980). Elliptical imperatives such as those in E16 and E24 are not direct in this context, however. The difference is that elliptical imperatives such as "salt" occur in situations where it is perfectly obvious what is to be done and have only one reasonable interpretation (as a directive), whereas the examples here are ambiguous or "off-record" (Brown & Levinson 1987).

What is a relatively minor suggestion strategy in English turns out to be a major strategy in our samples of Japanese and Korean commercials, both of which contained more elliptical imperatives than any other linguistic strategy for the realization of suggestions. Examples from the Japanese sample include the following:

J14 Kondo no do nichi wa ochikaku no matsuda e.

next-POSSES Sat. Sun.-TOPIC vicinity-POSSES Mazda-DIRECTION

Next Saturday and Sunday, to Mazda (stores) near (you). (male announcer)

J16 Odekake mae ni ichi kapuseru

Going out before-TIME one capusule

Before going out, one capsule. (printed message)

J43 Migaki-arai wa Kaneyon.

Polishing-TOPIC Kaneyon

For polishing, Kaneyon. (onscreen female and printed)

Examples of elliptical imperatives in the Korean sample include these:

K9 Ttenaki cen nal pamey Kwimitheylul.

leave before day night-at Kwimithey-ACCUS.

At night before leaving, Kwimithey. (male announcer)

K25 Iceypwuthen, Shiny Fresh Brown.

From now on, Shiny Fresh Brown. (song)

K40 Ismomi nappulttayn, Insatol.

gum-NOM bad-when, Insatol.

When gums are bad, Insatol. (male announcer)

CONCLUSIONS

Previous studies of cross-cultural advertising practices have reported that American advertising is essentially persuasive, while Asian advertising er hasizes other functions, informativeness in the case of Chinese advertising and entertainment value and the establishment of positive feelings in the case of Korean and Japanese advertising. Advertising research of this type is typically based on the intuitive reactions of native speaker judges, and results are reported without reference to the language found in such commercials. This study has shown that prime time consumer product advertising on television in the U.S. is more overtly persuasive than similar advertising in three Asian countries in terms of the frequency of suggestions and the frequency with which imperatives are used to make such suggestions. Indeed, as Leech has pointed out, statements such as "Asian advertising is less persuasive than American advertising" only make sense if they can be relativized in terms of the pragmalinguistic strategies used in different communities and situations (Leech 1983:231). We have provided some pragmalinguistic evidence that Japanese advertising practices are at the opposite pole from those in the U.S. with respect to the speech act of suggesting, while Korean and Chinese commercials are not quite as indirect as those from Japan.

We have discovered a number of other intriguing facts about the ways suggestions are made in television commercials in these four countries. Perhaps the most interesting general question that can be asked is whether the language of advertising is a

function of universal pragmatic principles, a reflection of cultural norms, the result of the requirements of selling in a market economy (Hall & Saracino-Resh 1979), or just the conventions of the advertising industry. While our evidence is fragmentary, we have reason to think that each of these forces plays a role, and that no one of them is entirely responsible.

Our hypotheses, which were supported, were based on the assumption that general cultural norms regarding directness in the use of language would be reflected in advertising language. At the same time, these cultural differences are manifested against a background of universal principles. The suggestion to buy implies a cost to the viewer/consumer, and we find that commercials in all four countries reflect the operation of Leech's Tact Maxim, to minimize cost and maximize benefits to the hearer (Leech 1983: 132). In all four languages, suggestions referring to purchase are less common than those which stress benefits to the consumer and avoid mention of the actual exchange of money for goods. In the U.S. commercials, we also found an apparent tradeoff (though more data would be required to confirm this) between the use of the imperative, the most direct linguistic form for directives, and the choice of the action recommended, a nice illustration of one of the corollaries of Leech's maxim of tact, that the more transparent the cost to the hearer in terms of propositional content the greater will be the need for optionality and indirectness in expression of the impositive (Leech 1983:126).

We do not have a wholly satisfactory explanation for the occurrence of request-like forms in commercials from Japan, China, and (to a lesser extent) Korea, especially those with please and other formal politeness markers which are not found at all in U.S. commercials. One possible line of explanation could be that requests and suggestions may be less differentiated speech act categories in Chinese and Japanese than in English. Banerjee and Carrell (1988) reported that their nonnative speakers of English, who were of Chinese and Malay language backgrounds, used politeness forms common for requests in their suggestions, not realizing that some requesting strategies are inappropriate as suggestions. Bannerjee and Carrell do not consider the possibility of first language transfer in their study, nor do they specify whether Chinese or Malay students produced such forms.

However, even in English, there is great overlap among the linguistic forms used for requesting and suggesting, and conceptually these categories of speech acts are not completely distinct. Searle stresses their differences at times (Searle 1969), their similarities as species of directives at others (Searle 1976). There may certainly be cases of requests directed at actions desired by a speaker with little or no benefit for the hearer, as well as suggestions pertaining to matters exclusively for the benefit of hearers, but the notion of a free transaction between a willing seller and a willing buyer implies a balance between the costs and benefits of both parties.

Perhaps our initial analysis, that commercials should be analyzed as suggestions, is incorrect. If commercials are more properly viewed as hybrids containing elements of both request and suggestion, then the U.S. preference for linguistic forms typical of suggestions and avoidance of those typical of requests might be seen as another manifestation of the maxim of tact, a manipulative strategy to minimize apparent cost by using those linguistic forms which are appropriate when recommending actions which are clearly to a hearer's benefit, and a case in which form determines function rather than vice versa (Rajendra Singh, personal communication).

There are a number of ways in which the commercials in our sample reflect the economies in which they are embedded, most obviously in the distribution of products advertised. Other differences among the commercials from each of these countries which have not been analyzed here reflect government regulation of commercial advertising. Among these are a heavy emphasis on comparative product advertising in the U.S., proscribed in Japan and Korea (but not in China) and the frequent occurrence of very strong claims of product benefits found in Chinese advertising that would not be allowed under the U.S. FTC regulation that advertising claims must be substantiated. However, the language of advertising cannot be completely a function of the requirements of selling in a particular economy. The U.S and Japanese commercials were most different with respect to the aspects of language we have examined, although the economies in which they function are the most similar in many respects.

There are aspects of the realizations of suggestion forms in our commercials which reflect the potential of the medium of television. The clearest example of this is the use of indirection by participant shift, making suggestions directly to the viewer through an off-screen voice, printed message or song lyric, having onscreen characters make suggestions to each other, and so forth. The technique of having onscreen characters directly model the action of purchase, found only in the U.S. commercials, may be simply an innovation in the use of the medium which might spread across national and linguistic borders in time or which might prove to be a passing advertising fad.

In commercials from each country, we find some apparent examples of register-specific, conventionalized language. For U.S. advertising, the high frequency of the imperative may be partly viewed as a convention of advertising, since it cannot be attributed to universal requirements of selling (imperatives are infrequent in similar commercials from the other countries examined), or the function of suggesting versus requesting (imperatives are not the most common form for suggestions in face-to-face interaction). The finding that the formal pronoun <u>nin</u> is used to the viewer in Chinese commercials is puzzling in view of the claim of Fang and Heng (1983) that, since the Chinese Revolution, <u>nin</u> has been replaced almost entirely by <u>ni</u> even in letters and that in face-to-face conversation "a high-ranking official, even the premier of the State Council, would not expect

anybody to address him/her as nin" (Fang & Heng 1983: 503). This might therefore be an advertising convention in Chinese, although the absence of an empirical basis for most claims concerning speech act behavior in Chinese makes this unclear. Nin may be increasing in use in China under the influence of the "beautiful speech" movement, and it may be only that advertising copywriters are particularly conscious of this shift in norms.

The best example of conventionalized advertising language in our data is the elliptical imperative, which is not ordinary language in English. Native speakers of Japanese and Korean also judge most of the examples of elliptical imperatives in our data for those languages to be advertising language, not language that would be used in face-to-face conversation. What is interesting about this is the connection between this conventionalized use of language in advertising and grammatical and pragmatic principles that function more generally in these languages. Both Korean and Japanese are discourse sensitive languages which permit the deletion of any constituent if it is recoverable from context, though the verb is the least likely candidate for such deletion. Takahashi (1986) has reported that Japanese subjects produced directives in discourse completion tasks which did not refer explicitly to the action to be taken, making the recipient of the directive responsible for guessing what was wanted. In Takahashi's examples, this was accomplished by stating reasons why something should be done, that is by giving hints or what we have classified in this study as reasons to buy (not analyzed in this paper), not by producing utterances which would easily recognized as imperatives except for omission of the verb. It seems that the elliptical imperative is a convention of advertising language which draws upon both the linguistic resources of these languages (optional deletion of constituents) and the pragmatic preference for avoiding reference to the desired action.

One of the most interesting issues for continued study of the pragmatics of cross-cultural advertising is to further elucidate the relationships between the language used, universal principles of pragmatics, cultural norms, and the more strictly conventionalized aspects of advertising register. A better understanding of these relationships is a prerequisite for determining which of these forces predominate and the ways in which they interact to produce the language of advertising.

NOTES

[1] The videotapes of Chinese, Korean and Japanese commercials used for this research were provided by Charles Keown and Laurence Jacobs. Initial transcriptions of the English data were done by Johanna Guth. Useful comments on an earlier draft of this paper were provided by Gabriele Kasper and Rajendra Singh.

[2] We do not discuss visual strategies here. While television is often considered to be primarily a visual medium in which language plays only a secondary role, Geis (1982) has provided

ample evidence that television is no less an auditory medium than is radio.

[3] An alternative to using consensus among the researchers for coding decisions would have been to establish all categories in advance, have more than one rater categorize examples from each language, and compute inter-rater reliability coefficents for each language. While inter-rater reliability coefficients would certainly be desirable and would enhance confidence in the analysis of each individual language sample, this method would not guarantee comparability of coding across languages, which we believe was achieved using consensus. In addition, although the categories used for statistical analysis in this paper were established in advance, this was an exploratory study in which many other aspects of the language of commercials were being looked at, so that it was important to allow analytical categories to evolve as the analysis proceded.

[4] An exception to the generalization that the imperative is not used in U.S. advertising with explicit references to the exchange of money occurs in advertisements for mail-order products (none in the sample analyzed here), at the end of which the viewer may be told:

> Call 1-800-xxx-xxxx. Have your credit card ready.
> Or, send $xx.xx plus $xx.xx shipping and handling to:
>
> (address)

One of the main differences between commercials for mail-order products (which are seldom broadcast on network channels during prime time) is the necessity for immediate action in the case of the mail-order commercial. Unless the viewer takes note of the address or phone number when the commercial is being broadcast, the commercial will not fulfill its goal.

Address for correspondence:

R.Schmidt
Department of ESL
The University of Hawaii at Manoa
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

	Eng	Jpns	Chns	Kor
Total # of suggestions:	78	35	35	53

All: X2=24.73, d.f.=3, p <.05
E x J: X2=15.86*, d.f.=1, p <.05
E x C: X2=15.86*, d.f.=1, p <.05
E x K: X2=4.27*, d.f.=1, p <.05
J x C: X2=0.00, d.f.=1, p >.05, n.s.
J x K: X2=4.18*, d.f.=1, p <.05
C x K: X2=4.18*, d.f.=1, p <.05

Suggestions to viewer only:	54	27	26	30

All: X2= 15.44, d.f.=3, p <.05
E x J: X2 = 8.50*, d.f.=1, p <.05
E x C: X2 = 9.30*, d.f.=1, p <.05
E x K: X2 = 6.36*, d.f.=1, p <.05
J x C: X2 = 0.52*, d.f.=1, p >.05, n.s.
J x K: X2 = 0.66*, d.f.=1, p >.05, n.s.
C x K: X2 = 0.78*, d.f.=1, p >.05, n.s.

*Corrected, because d.f.=1.

Table 1: Frequency of suggestions in the four language samples

	Eng	Jpns	Chns	Kor
Imperative (including imp + please/tag):	33	3	11	10
Other forms:	21	24	15	20
Total:	54	27	26	30

All: X2=19.62, d.f.=3, p <.05
Imperative, E x J: X2=24.50*, d.f.=1, p <.05
Imperative, E x C: X2=10.50*, d.f.=1, p <.05
Imperative, E x K: X2=11.80*, d.f.=1, p <.05
Imperative, J x C: X2=4.07*, d.f.=1, p <.05
Imperative, J x K: X2=4.27*, d.f.=1, p <.05
Imperative, C x K: X2=0.55*, d.f.=1, p >.05, n.s.

*Corrected

Table 2: Suggestions to the viewer;
Imperatives vs. other forms

	Eng	Jpns	Chns	Kor
Suggestions to buy	7	10	7	2
All other actions	71	25	28	51
Total	78	35	35	53

All: Category x Language: X2=14.18, d.f.=3, p <.05
English: X2=52.05*, d.f.=1, p <.05
Japanese: X2=5.92*, d.f.=1, p <.05
Chinese: X2=12.10*, d.f.=1, p <.05
Korean: X2=44.80*, d.f.=1, p <.05

*Corrected

Table 3: Content of suggestions

LINGUISTIC FORM	Eng	Jpns	Chns	Kor
Addressed to viewer, imperative:	33	-	7	9
Imperative + please or tag	-	3	4	1
Elliptical imperative (no verb)	4	14	-	11
Negative question	1	2	-	-
Nominalization	4	4	3	-
Embedded suggestion	4	1	-	-
Conditionals	2	1	1	-
Consumer as object	3	-	6	-
Ability/possibility statements	1	2	1	-
Passives	-	-	4	-
Propositives ("let's")	-	-	-	4
Other suggestion forms	2	-	-	5

Table 4: Linguistic form of suggestions to viewer

REFERENCES

Agoston, T., & von Raffler-Engel, W. (1979). A linguistic analysis of some commercial television advertisements. In R.St. Clair, (ed.), Perspectives on Applied Sociolinguistics. Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press.

Banerjee, J., and Carrell, P. (1988). Tuck in your shirt, you squid: suggestions in ESL. Language Learning 38.3: 313-364.

Barthes, R. (1972). Mythologies. New York: Hill and Wang.

Beebe, L., and Takahashi, T. (1989). Do you have a bag?: Social status and patterned variation in second language acquisition. In S. Gass, C. Madden, D. Preston, and L. Selinker (eds.), Variation in Second Language Acquisition: Discourse and Pragmatics. Clevedon and Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Bhatia, T.K. (1987). English in advertising: multiple mixing and media. World Englishes 6, 33-48.

Blum-Kulka, S. (1982). Learning to say what you mean in a second language: A study of the speech act performance of learners of Hebrew as a second language. Applied Linguistics, 3, 29-59.

Blum-Kulka, S., House, J., and Kasper, G. (eds.)(1989). Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies. Norwood, NJ: ABLEX.

Blum-Kulka, S., & Olshtain, E. (1984). Requests and apologies: a cross-cultural study of speech act realization patterns (CCSARP). Applied Linguistics 5 (3), 196-213.

Bolinger, D. (1973). Truth is a linguistic function. Language 9, 539-550.

Bolinger, D. (1980). Language: the loaded weapon. London: Longman.

Borkin, A., and Reinhart, S.M. (1978). Excuse me and I'm sorry. TESOL Quarterly, 12, 57-70.

Brown, P., and Levenson, S. (1987). Politeness. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carrell, P., and Konneker, B. (1981). Politeness: comparing native and nonnative judgments. Language Learning, 31, 17-30.

Cohen, A., and Olshtain, E. (1981). Developing a measure of sociocultural competence: the case of apology. Language Learning, 31, 113-34.

Cole, P., and Morgan, J. (eds) (1975). Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 3: Speech Acts. New York: Academic Press.

Coulmas, F. (1981). 'Poison to your soul': Thanks and apologies

contrastively viewed. In F. Coulmas (ed.), Conversational Routine. The Hague: Mouton.

Dowling, G. (1980). Information content in U.S. and Australian television advertising. Journal of Marketing 44 (Fall), 34-37.

Edmondson, W., & House, J. (1981). Let's talk and talk about it. Munich: Urban & Schwarzenberg.

Eisenstein, M., and Bodman, J. (1986). 'I very appreciate': expressions of gratitude by native and non-native speakers of American English. Applied Linguistics, 7, 167-85.

Ervin-Tripp, S. 1976. Is Sybil there? The structure of American English directives. Language in Society, 5, 25-66.

Fang, H., and Heng, J. (1983). Social changes and changing address norms in China. Language in Society, 12, 495-507.

Fields, G. (1983). From Bonsai to Levi's. New York: New York Library.

Fraser, B. (1983). The domain of pragmatics. In J.C. Richards & R. W. Schmidt, (eds.), Language and Communication. London: Longman.

Geis, M. (1982). The Language of Television Advertising. New York: Academic Press.

Glenn, E., Witmeyer, D., and Stevenson, K. (1977). Cultural styles of persuasion. Journal of Intercultural Relations, 1.3, 52-66.

Goffman, E. (1981). Forms of Talk. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Green, G. (1975). How to get people to do things with words: the whimperative question. In P. Cole & J. Morgan, (eds.), Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 3: Speech Acts.

Grice, H.P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole and J.L. Morgan, (eds.), Syntax and semantics III: Speech acts. New York: Academic Press. 41-58.

Hall, D. R. and Saracino-Resh, L. (1979). Advertising as cultural language. In R.St. Clair, (ed.), Perspectives on Applied Sociolinguistics. Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press.

Harris, R. J., (ed.) (1983). Information Processing Research in Advertising. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Ho, S-C., and Sin, Y-M. (1987). Advertising in China: looking back at looking forward. Journal of Advertising 16,1, 307-316.

Holmes, J., and Brown, D. (1987). Teachers and students learning

about compliments. TESOL Quarterly, 21, 523-46.

Ho, S-C., and Sin, Y-M. (1987). Advertising in China: looking back at looking forward. Journal of Advertising 16,1, 307-316.

Hong, J.W., Muderrisoglu, A. & and Zinhan, G.M. (1987). Cultural differences and advertising expression: a comparative content analysis of Japanese and U.S. magazine advertising. Journal of Advertising 16(1), 55-68.

Hunt, S. D. (1976). Informational vs. persuasive advertising: an appraisal. Journal of Advertising 5 (Summer): 5-8.

Johns, A. (1986). The language of business. Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 7, 3-17.

Kaplan, R. (1966). Cultural thought patterns in inter-cultural education. Language Learning, 16, 1-20.

Kaynak, E. & Mitchell, L.A. (1981). Analysis of marketing strategies in diverse cultures. Journal of Advertising Research 21(3), 25-32.

Keown, C.E., Jacobs, L.W., Schmidt, R.W., & Ghymn, K-I. (1990). Information content of advertising in the United States, Japan, South Korea, and the People's Republic of China. Paper presented at the 19th Annual Conference of the European Marketing Academy, Innsbruck, Austria, May 22-25.

Laczniak, G.R. (1979). Information content in print advertising. Journalism Quarterly 56 (Summer). 324-327, 345.

Lakoff, R.T. (1982). Persuasive discourse and ordinary conversation, with examples from advertising. In D. Tannen (ed.), Analyzing discourse: text and talk. Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1981. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Leech, G. (1966). English in Advertising. London: Longman.

Leech, G. (1983). Principles of Pragmatics. London: Longman.

Madden, C.S., Caballero, M.J., & Matsukubo, S. (1986). Analysis of information content in U.S. and Japanese magazing advertising. Journal of Advertising 15(3), 38-45.

Manes, J. (1983). Compliments: a mirror of cultural values. In N. Wolfson and E. Judd (eds.), Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Manes, J., and Wolfson, N. (1981). The compliment formula. In F. Coulmas (ed.), Conversational Routine. The Hague: Mouton.

Masavisut, N., Sukwiwat, M. & Wongmontha, S. (1987). The power of the English language in Thai media. World Englishes 5(2/3),

Bilingualism, 17, 97-106.

Romaine, S. (forthcoming). Advertising in Pidgin English (Tok Pisin) in Papua New Guinea. In L. Michaels & L. Ricks, ed., The state of the language. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rothschild, J. (1979). Linguistic dimensions of broadcasting. In R. St. Clair (ed.), Perspectives on Applied Sociolinguistics. Lawrence, KA: Coronado Press.

Scarcella, R. (1983). Discourse accent in second language performance. In S. Gass and L. Selinker (eds.), Language Transfer in Language Learning. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schmidt, R. and Kess, J.F. (1985). Persuasive language in the television medium: contrasting advertising and televangelism. Journal of Pragmatics 9, 287-308.

Schmidt, R., and Kess, J. (1987). Television advertising and televangelism. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Scollon, R., and Scollon, S. (1983). Face in interethnic communication. In J.C. Richards and R.W. Schmidt (eds.), Language and Communication. London: Longman.

Searle, J. (1969). Speech Acts. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle, J. (1976). A classification of illocutionary acts. Language in Society, 5, 1-23.

Sherry, J. F. & Camargo, E.G. (1987). May your life be marvelous: English language labelling and the semiotics of Japanese promotion. Journal of Consumer Research 14: 174-188.

Stern, B., Krugman, D.,& Resnik, A. (1981). Magazine advertising: analysis of its information content. Journal of Advertising Research 21(2), 39-44.

Sukwiwat, M., and Fieg, J. (1987). Greeting and leave-taking. PASAA, 17.2, 1-12.

Takahashi, Satomi. 1987. A contrastive study of indirectness exemlified in L1 directive speech acts performed by Americand and Japanese. M.A. thesis, The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Tanaka, S., and Kawade, S. (1982). Politeness strategies and second language acquisition. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 5, 18-33.

Tannen, D. 1981. Indirectness in discourse: Ethnicity as conversational style. Discourse Processes 4, 221-38.

Tse, D., Belk, R., and Zhou, N. (1989). Becoming a consumer

197-207.

Matsumoto, Y. (1988). Reexamination of the universality of face: politeness phenomena in Japanese. Journal of Pragmatics 12: 403-426.

Miracle, G. E. (1985). Advertising regulation in Japan and the USA: an introductory comparison. Waseda Business and Economic Studies 21, 35-69.

Miracle, G. E. (1987). Feel-do-learn: An alternative sequence underlying Japanese commercials. In F. Feasely (ed.), Proceedings of the 1987 Conference of the American Academy of Advertising.

Moeran, B. (1985). When the poetics of advertising becomes the advertising of poetics: syntactical and semantic parallelism in English and Japanese advertising. Language and Communication, 5 (1), 29-44.

Mueller, B. (1987). Reflections of culture: an analysis of Japanese and American advertising appeals. Journal of Advertising Research (June/July 1987). 51-59.

O'Barr, W.M. 1979. Language and advertising. Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1979. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Olshtain, E. (1983). Sociocultural competence and language transfer: the case of apology. In S. Gass and L. Selinker (eds.), Language Transfer in Language Learning. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Olshtain, E., and Cohen, A. (1983). Apology: a speech-act set. In N. Wolfson and E. Judd (eds.,), Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Pearson, E. (1983). Agreement and disagreement: a study of speech acts in discourse and ESL/EFL materials. Unpub. MA thesis in ESL, the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Pomerantz, Z. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: some features of preferred/dispreferred twin shapes. In J. Maxwell Atkinson and J. Heritage (eds.), Structures in Social Action. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Resnik, A. & Stern, B. (1977). An analysis of information content in television advertising. Journal of Marketing 41, 50-53.

Rice, M.D., & Lu, Z. (1988). A content analysis of Chinese magazine advertisements. Journal of Advertising, 17.4, 43-48.

Rintell, E. (1979). Getting your speech act together: the pragmatic ability of second language learners. Working Papers on

society: a longitudinal and cross-cultural content analysis of print ads from Hong Kong, the People's Republic of China, and Taiwan. Journal of Consumer Research, 15, 457-472.

Vestergaard, T., & Schroder, K. (1985). The language of advertising. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Walters, J. (1980). The perception of politness in English and Spanish. In C. Yorio, C. Perkins, and J. Schachter (eds.), On TESOL '79: The learner in focus. Washington, DC: TESOL.

Wolfson, N. (1981). Compliments in cross-cultural perspective. TESOL Quarterly 15, 117-24.

Wolfson, N. (1983). An empirically based analysis of complimenting in American English. In N. Wolfson and E. Judd (eds.), Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Yamaki, T. n.d. International comparison of television commercials. Tokyo: Tokyo Keizai University.

Young, L. (1982). Inscrutability revisited. In J. Gumperz (ed.), Language and Social Identity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

END

U.S. Dept. of Education

Office of Education
Research and
Improvement (OERI)

ERIC

Date Filmed

March 29, 1991